1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 834]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

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The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tava sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [? nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

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757 177 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 824 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda.*

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 843 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[1644]

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754
Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 787
a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754
The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and forefinger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet. [824]

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death." [776]

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823 778 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 789 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 789 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones, placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

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Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib: covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used.

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass.

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women.

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder.

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck.

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending

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Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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173 825 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 824 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say, "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini*, a large hawk.

173 771 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own forefather (*tui*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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step into the water, open their *tatanga* nets and surround the school so that the fish are caught in the nets. 226

Yavirau. A *yavirau* (*yavi*, hauling; *rau*, string or rope) is a communal fishing expedition on special occasions such as the death or marriage of a prominent man.

Toward the end of December I witnessed a *yavirau* held by the villages of Lomatchi and Tokalau. A few prominent men of Tokalau and Lomatchi went to the master fisherman, ceremonially presented kava to him, and explained that the community wished to have a *yavirau* so that there might be plenty of fish for a feast on New Year's Day. They asked that he tell them when and where to fish. The master fisherman folded his hands and sank his head; looking at the floor, he cleared his throat, and replied, "Vinaka sara" (Very well). He fixed December 28 as the great day and selected the Lomatchi fishing grounds as the place. The supplicants thanked him, sat together for a while, and then left to report to their people.

On the appointed day one group of young men went into the bush to cut *walai* (*Entada phaseoloides*) and *tuva* vines which grow to a length of over 100 meters and are about 0.5 cm. in diameter. Meanwhile another group of men was busy with cane knives, cutting green branches of coconut. The branches were piled near the beach with the *walai* and *tuva* vines. With their teeth, a sharp shell, or a cane knife the men split the sides of the branches from the midrib slightly, took hold of the sides with their fingers and then, suddenly opening their arms, stripped them with the adhering leaflets from the midrib. While some men or boys were holding the vines, others wound the coconut foliage adhering to the strip spirally around the vines so that the leaves stuck out like long barbs. Women did not participate in this work. Whenever they were invited to, they laughed and joked, and continued to blacken their faces with ashes in spite of the fact the sky was gray most of the day. [324]

Finally the spiked strings were rolled into two coils, each about 400 meters long, and placed on a canoe. The crowd was excited, for the tide had begun to ebb. Quickly the canoe was pushed off. Two men, standing on the beach, held one end of the string and, as the canoe was poled toward the reef, the first coil unwound. The second coil was tied to the end of the first and then the canoe moved forward again. Having reached the reef, one man stepped off and held the string. The canoe turned to the right, poled parallel to the reef, and stopped as the last meter of coil unwound. In the meantime men and women on canoes had divided in the lagoon. Women and boys jumped into the water, which was falling rapidly, and held the line so that it might not catch a rock. The line was used to frighten the fish into one corner of the lagoon. The men on the beach started moving forward and gradually the whole line from the beach to the reef moved. Those on the ends were pulling ahead, the others were moving slowly so that the line became semicircular. The people in the water either walked over coral or swam in deep water. The people on the reef end moved toward the beach so that the string began to describe the outline of a horseshoe, the opening toward the beach. Men on canoes followed and admonished the crowd to hold the line deep enough so that schools of fish might not pass below it. The men on the beach stopped. Those holding the end in the water moved toward the beach and finally stepped onto the sand about 40 meters from them. Near the beach the water was shallow, and the encircled fish became nervous. The spiral string drew together around them as they tried to escape. Men and women beat the water, jumped and approached the beach. About 15 meters from the sand the string was cut in two places and married women quickly blocked the openings with nets. At the same time a man held up his spear and looked at the master fisherman who excitedly yelled, "Vinaka" (Very well)! Men and boys threw their spears at the captive fish. Little boys, who tried themselves for the first time, yelled and screamed with enthusiasm.

A stick was shoved through the meshes of each net and thus the full nets were carried onto the beach. The speared fish were spread there also. The women killed those from the nets by biting them on the head. Large ones were struck by the boys with a stick or the back of a cane knife. The fish were sorted according to size and divided

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TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe,* to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

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Steaming

The small earth oven (*lovo*) used daily in Lau is prepared as follows: 252

A circular pit at least 1 meter wide and 0.5 meter deep is dug in the ground. The same pit is used repeatedly. Wood for fuel is collected in the bush by boys, usually younger brothers of the earth-oven group. Fuel is laid in the pit, and on top of the fuel are placed 30 or more stones. Round basaltic stones of uniform size, weighing about 2.5 to 3 pounds, are preferred. (Frequently basalt stones are imported from the volcanic islands. When basalt stones are not available stones of limestone are used. A set of earth-oven stones is used over a long period of time.) Unless imported matches are available the fuel is lighted by means of a burning brand from a neighboring fire. If there is no fire to be had it is made as described above. As the fire burns the stones fall to the bottom of the pit and are spread out with a stick. 354

Breadfruit is either steamed whole or steamed after being scraped with a shell, dried in the sun, and cut in halves. Breadfruit is placed in the oven first, directly on the hot stones. If no breadfruit is to be steamed, the hot stones are covered with a layer of green leaves such as *viavia (Crinum asiaticum)* before the food is put into the oven. Sweet potatoes are washed and manioc roots washed and scraped before being put into the oven. For a feast they are wrapped in small coconut-leaf baskets. Tahitian chestnuts are steamed in their shells. Pumpkin and papaya are cut in pieces, cleaned, and placed skin down on the top layer of food in the oven. If pumpkin or breadfruit alone is in the oven sticks are placed across the oven before it is covered. To close the oven two or three thick layers of non-poisonous leaves, such as *viavia, sitchi (Grewia crenata)*, banana, or breadfruit are placed over the food; then a layer of dry coconut-leaf baskets or old gunny sacks; and finally a layer of earth tightly packed so that no steam can escape. After three or four hours the layers of earth and leaves are carefully removed. 252 [824] [824]

The poisonous varieties of manioc are made into a sort of pudding called *tapioke solo* by the following method. Peeled manioc roots are grated on the rough side of a piece of tin in which holes have been punctured. The tin grater is often fastened to a board and placed in a wooden bowl. A man sits on the ground, the bowl between his outstretched legs, or he sits astraddle a log to which the grater has been nailed. The gratings fall onto a coconut leaf. When tin is not available, a slab of fine coral is used as a grater, as was done in olden times. Fresh water is mixed with the grated manioc in the bowl and the mixture is strained by being squeezed through strips of the inner bark of the hibiscus fastened together at one end. The fibrous part of the manioc which is strained out is set in the sun to dry, usually on a piece of sheet iron, and the residue in the bowl is allowed to settle. Later the water is poured off and the starch, from which the poison has been extracted, remains at the bottom of the bowl. The starch is mixed with the dry manioc and the mixture is made by hand into balls about 6 cm. in diameter. Dry grated coconut is

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342 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal
333 adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised
[482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

> The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ovuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of
[824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

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Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd [731] together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands.

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

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343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

283 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boil-
● [824] ing a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

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502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu*, called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 313 [824] **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau*, or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 313 483 [412] When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut. [824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

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The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal.

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon.

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it.

When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes,

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287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *keso*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

[824] (1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The inner bark of the *kesawai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

[438] Black dye is made by boiling brown *keso* dye for several hours. It is also produced by mixing brown *keso*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

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303 [824]

FLOWERS

langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439]

Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 [832]

Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

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283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISHNETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i ɾikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thana* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

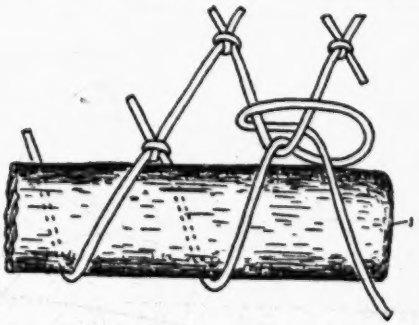

FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu*, are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
● [824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i ndreve*, is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 824

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree (*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

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769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
●[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

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[53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*)
[751] grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

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(*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

The illness of Tchiepe, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

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Kambara

treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area.

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

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ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D., HONOLULU.

DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

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[1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
(pp 1-96 not processed)

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets *(kato mbolambola)* by young women to the village. Black sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of *makandre*-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived in the village for which they were making pots. The clay was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried it in baskets to the village where the women were working.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and 245 bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua, 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

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* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

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with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

" Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land [438] for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber [824] tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our [501] ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much [285] *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of [437] Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

" And one day Tui Matokano said, ' Here is